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ABSTRACT

The author discusses the role of the New Careers training programs within a model city, arguing that the nature of human services in the city must change to meet pressing social needs, and that the essential inhumanity of human services in the city will not be altered if the only change is reassigning activities to the nonprofessional personnel. He states that a strategy for New Careers programs must be constructed which deals with the need for development of specific skills. Career ladders must not be dead ends; they must prepare the individual for available jobs, and they must leave open the opportunity for advancing to higher skill levels within a field. The author outlines steps necessary in the development of a New Careers training program, considering curriculum, leadership, manpower, program costs, systems analysis, evaluation, and other factors. (MF)

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NEW CAREERS AND MODEL CITIES

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The following are excerpts from a paper written by Dr. Pearl
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The "Model City"

Implicit and crucial to a "New Career" development in a model city is change in the nature of service. The essential inhumanity of alleged human services in the city will not be altered if the only change is re-assigning activities to non-professional personnel. At the present time there are things done in human service which should not be done at all. Much of current human service hinders rather than helps and all of the necessary functions of the city must be transformed into enabling rather than restrictive activities. The key to a successful model city is relevant quality service. The following is suggested change in selected service domains:

Welfare - The goal of a legitimate welfare service is to enable disadvantaged populations to cope. Poverty stricken populations are burdened by a host of disabling conditions. And probably the most defeating is the "locked out" condition that leaves them without appropriate skills and information to negotiate the system. The essential function of a welfare system is to provide the necessary information and to generate, in a relatively non-threatening environment, the requisite coping behavior to facilitate entrance into the complicated social structures of a modern urban society. The welfare function should be just that - sensitivity to the welfare of residents. The major thrust must be to offer an increasing range of alternatives to the recipient.

In the staffing of the agency the entry positions (aide) should be assigned to making contact with persons in need and disseminating information about available resources. The intermediate roles

(assistant and associate) are higher level tacticians who offer consultation to the aides, supervise their training and provide specialist service to clients with particular problems and needs. The professional is the strategist. He evaluates whether the service is attaining the specified goals. He plans for program changes consistent with new developments in the field and the changing urban condition.

Employment - At the present time the employment agencies could be accurately described as unemployment services. And the consequence of such distortion is denegation of the client. Employment service must be primarily job and career development. The emphasis must be on rearranging job specifications to meet the attributes of the population. The entry workers' duties are to make contact with the job seeking population and facilitate their contact with the prospective employer. The functions of those in intermediate positions should be to supervise and consult with the lower echelon personnel, to negotiate with employers to organize the work activities to meet the qualifications of the applicant, and, to generate training programs to enhance the skill level of the job seeker. The professional must, in addition to evaluating the aforementioned activities and supervising continuous staff development, must plan for impending changes in the deployment of manpower.

Urban Development - The urban development agency must transform its essentially inanimate and often oppressive activities of rent collection, code enforcement, surveying, business management and resident relocation into personal assistance. The extent to which the above functions can become community responsibilities, i.e., are taken over by the residents who assist rather than control and

who help rather than restrict, the program becomes growth producing.

The staff of the development agency takes on, in place of the more traditional direct service, community organizational activities. The entry aide becomes a contact man and information gatherer. The intermediate personnel are group leaders, specialists and consultants. And, similar to other agencies, the professional evaluates current efforts and maps out future strategies. Police - The police present a unique problem for the urban community. It is no exaggeration to assert that police have triggered many of the violent outbursts in the ghetto. It is not difficult to understand why. The police are viewed by the impoverished ghetto resident as an occupying army to protect the property and interests of the overlord. Police are not perceived as servants to the community. Most community relation efforts of police departments fail because the efforts are perceived as superficial flim flam designed to deceive the residents. Only when police service becomes of, by and for the people will the situation change. Police service must become primarily concerned with the protection of person and property of the ghetto resident. The police must be scrupulously concerned for laws of evidence. Proscriptive laws that have an ethnic or economic status coloration, e.g., drug abuse, must be re-examined for possible unequal protection of the law implications. It is more appropriate in matters concerning drug or alcohol abuse that health officers rather than the police have jurisdiction. The emphasis here should be upon helping the afflicted instead of apprehending the law violator.

The entry police worker should be drawn from the community and be representative of the various resident groups. His service demands should not place him in an untenable position with community residents. His role must be unambiguous and non-alienating.

He must be perceived as an advocate of the people. It is extremely important that there be well articulated channels of upward mobility with intermediate positions of supervision and specialization and eligibility for the highest ranking administrative posts.

Health - The health services in a model city must depart radically from traditional services. Health services through the years have been packaged to repair the sick or the disabled. The focus has been on tertiary prevention and has been most effective with acute communicable diseases. The urban complex still has a considerable problem with communicable disease but this is a minor consideration for modern urban existences. The chronic disorders are the critical problems and these must be attacked at the primary prevention level. Respiratory, heart, and cancer disorders coupled with alcoholism, emotional disorder and drug abuse are among the major health problems of a modern society. The most vulnerable populations are the very young and very old.

The health services which will both serve those most in need and have maximum impact on the major influences on morbidity and mortality are those which affect the way of life of the inhabitants. Health service must reach into each home and must influence diet, recreation and pace of living. It helps not one iota to attach a label of danger on a pack of cigarettes and

have more people smoke cigarettes (at an ever younger age) each year. Health services must influence the day to day behaviors of the residents and this can only happen when the service is taken from the hospital and the doctor's office and brought to the streets where people live.

The entry worker must be a health educator capable of communicating effectively to residents. He must also be a case finder and a repository of information about available service. The intermediate worker is supervisor and a specialist. He has the knowledge to (under supervision of more highly trained personnel) to treat ailments and to lead group discussion. The professional is either the specialist or the evaluator and planner.

Education - Every aspect of education must undergo metamorphosis in the city of the future and particularly education must be changed for the urban poor. At the present time education is both an indignity and an irrelevancy. If any population needs an education it is the urban poor and yet it is this group that is maximally disengaged from education. The tragic truth is that recent efforts to improve the situation have only worsened it. Most educational programs for the urban end up insulting the intelligence of the student (this because there is an assumption of ignorance, stupidity and apathy in the student population). The programs only further segregate the already overly segregated. The program offers little if anything concretely meaningful to the student. The school becomes perverted into an unending

struggle for dominance between youth and adults and that totally unnecessary struggle distorts every aspect of the educational process.*

A good school depends upon optimum utilization of manpower. The entry and intermediate worker can generate a spirit of trust and support of the school in the community only if they are drawn representatively from the community. The urban elementary school can become more alive to the boy if more males are recruited into teaching assignments.

Higher education typifies all that is inappropriate in the city. Unlike the dodo bird which it resembles in grace and vitality, the urban university hasn't even the decency to acknowledge its death. And contrary to Mark Twain's assertion -- any reports of its life are highly exaggerated. In no way does the urban community meet the needs of the city. It neither spawns the scholars capable of conceptualizing solutions to the city problems nor does it accommodate the impoverished city dweller's quest for

*For more detail on necessary changes in the urban communities see Arthur Pearl, Educational Change: Why-How-For Whom?, from unedited speeches of Dr. Arthur Pearl. Distributed by the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco, 1254 Market Street, San Francisco, California, 1966. (Mimeo)

Also see Fantini and Weinstein, Toward A Contact Curriculum, Anti Defamation League, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York.

Arthur Pearl, A Critical Look at Teacher Education, Paper for the National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth, November, 1966 (Mimeo).

a credential which is the primary path out of the world of poverty. Instead of true scholarship the university ruminates antiquated theory and quietly, every so quietly, criticizes the modern day Philistine. More concerned with grants than deeds, the university projects, in areas of greatest need show a dearth of imagination a shocking lack of reflection and evaluation. And rather than making a place for the urban dweller, rather than reorganizing curriculum to meet needs and to reward prior experiences, the university apparently revels in its repudiation of the poor. Rather than scheduling for the convenience of the working student, the urban college imitates the prestigious university and places success through the matriculation of a graduate program beyond the reach of almost all urban dwellers. Remember it was not always thus. The ghetto residents of not so long ago were able to go to part-time social work and medicine schools. Two years in a normal school qualified the student to teach. Anyone could enter. The costs of education, if there was any at all, they were minimal. In the quest of an illusive quality of higher standards of excellence, all of these virtues were lost and a meaningless ritual was substituted in its place. Urban universities must at least capture the best of the past and must adjust to the demands of the present. Every student must be accommodated! Admission requirements based on examinations which reflect social or economic bias must be eliminated. The freshman year must not be a year for screening out the undesirables but rather must

be a year where prior deficiencies are corrected. The dreary English Composition class must be replaced with more utilitarian approaches to language skill. There must be more imaginative use of media. Rather than discouraging the working student the academic program must be integrated into work situations and English, history, math, etc., introduced into the life setting of the student. The New Career idea should be at the heart of every urban university and for those students not in a career sequence where education is brought to him, other education programs must be developed to accommodate the working student. It is imperative that urban universities be around the clock operations with library facilities open to the student 24 hours a day and supportive assistance available on call.

Training of the New Careerist

Adequate training is an imperative for every level of urban service. Specifically for New Careers, a training strategy must be developed which prepares persons for the different types of functions which must be performed. It is possible to define four attributes of competencies that practitioners in human services must have. These are:

- 1) Manipulative skills. Human service personnel have to learn to do things. They must operate equipment, complete forms, interview clients, interpret regulations, administer tests, etc.
- 2) Cognitive skills. Human service personnel must have a theoretical framework to guide their overt behaviors. All staff must have a working knowledge of learning, perception, motivation, group structure, social stratification and social institutions as well as a command of language and other basic skills. For specific areas of endeavor staff must attain the knowledge necessary for that field.
- 3) Interpersonal skills. By definition, human service personnel must know how to get along with people. They must become sensitive to clients, to co-workers and to supervisors.

- 4) Management skills. Human service is a highly organized endeavor. To prevent regression to rigid bureaucracy, staff must learn to budget time and manpower, to generate flexible organizational forms. While such training is most appropriate for high echelon personnel, there is need for orientation at the entry level.

Currently, nowhere is there adequate training for human service. The training is neither designed for the specific agency nor for the level of personnel. Implicit in all that has been stated in this article is the need for specific descriptions of tasks to be performed for each level of career ladder. In the absence of extensive experience, hypothetical functional task analysis for each level of service must be developed and training designed to accomplish those aims. Clearly these job specifications and the training must be revised as experience is accumulated and as the situation changes.

Further elaboration on training

New Career training places unique challenges before any training establishment. It is possible to construct training entirely within an agency and thereby generate an updated apprenticeship program tuned to growth industries. At first brush this is an enticing proposition. Organizationally such an approach is uncomplicated. There is opportunity for integration of training into the work experience and there is opportunity to use the skilled practitioner in the training process. There are, however, problems in such an arrangement. Almost invariably such training overemphasizes the manipulative skills at the expense of the cognitive. But there is even a greater handicap. One of the basic virtues in a New Career program is that it increases options for the participants. Restricting training to an agency in effect locks the employee into that agency and reduces to a minimum his bargaining power.

Despite all the existing weaknesses in the university there must be higher education involvement in New Career training; only with such involvement will it be possible for students to obtain credentials which have currency in different areas of the country and in a variety of agencies. Implicit in the New Career idea is that the university goes to the student. The aspect of training which comes from learning from work experience must be carefully structured and new systems for evaluation must be developed to accurately assess knowledge obtained. The theory courses must be altered to fit the activities on the job. Traditionally, students take a series of essentially independent courses. The student is exposed to an introduction to psychology and sociology. He is taught about social psychology. There is little integration of the component parts nor is there much attention to applicability of theory. The fragmentation of education militates against systematic growth. With New Careers there is integration of theory and practice. It is the job function that organizes the presentation of theory. Rather than presenting different subjects at different periods in a school career, these subjects (psychology, sociology, etc.,) are combined to explain events occurring on the job. As the student progresses he learns more about the subjects: Traditional education overtime increases the breadth of knowledge, New Career training over the long haul is designed to increase the depth of knowledge.

The teacher of cognitive skills in a New Career program must work from a check list - a roster of topics to be covered in a certain period of time and he must know the tasks the student is being asked to perform to determine the level of knowledge to be garnered in this course. The order of presentation and even its manner of presentation will be determined by on the job events.

The training of New Careers requires a high level of integration of all training staff and constant evaluation of the program. Monitoring and double loop feedback must be maintained throughout the training sequences. Personnel must be assigned to observe what is happening on the job and in the classroom and reports of problems must be quickly transmitted to both agency personnel and training staff.

Strategy for Implementation

Clearly, New Career development is a long haul proposition and similar to every other tedious journey, the first steps to the goal are crucial. At the present time there are no New Career programs in existence. None of the basic elements of New Careers have been secured in those programs which advertise themselves to be "New Careers!" Often there is not an assurance of a permanent position. The career ladders, if in existence at all, do not advance far up the scale. The entry positions are not precisely defined and there is hardly a task analysis for the first step let alone job specifications for promotional positions. The screening procedures for candidates contain the same invalid criteria which have locked poor people into poverty. Training programs are not specifically designed for work functions nor is there a logical process developed to allow for continual growth. Training programs which offer college credits are also often dead ended, e.g., many community colleges offer associate art degree programs for teaching assistants (even though it is unlikely that there is a permanent slot for such a category of personnel in the school system's table of organization) but the graduate's of that

program will not be accepted with a status of upperclassman in a four year college or university.

To date, New Career efforts can be most accurately described as New Career development programs, and it is possible to look at the few years of accumulated experience and from this sketch out a strategy for full scale implementation. Most New Career programs have been launched with inadequate preparation and an underestimation of the complexity of the challenge. With Eliot's Prufrock we, too, must ponder "how shall we then presume and how then do we begin?"

We begin by:

1. Formulating a plan

A New Career plan required first the identification of all the elements involved and the construction of a "mock-up" or model of the operation. The formulation of the plan would have to include at the very least, the following:

a) Identification of the agencies

All the agencies, public and private, which logically can be considered to fit into a New Career context must be enumerated. This would not only include the service and training institutions but also the agencies which control hiring practices (civil service), and budgets (departments of finance). The service offered by these agencies must be assessed and reconstituted to overcome the deficiencies cited previously in this report. The plan must consider the readiness of agencies to make the changes which are necessary for New Careers.

b) Identification of training resources

The current capacity of higher education to deliver training for every level of New Careerist in each service area must be appraised. In this appraisal the barriers to training must be identified and a program for overcoming ascertained handicaps projected. Such an analysis would require a thorough investigation into procedures which are required for curriculum change and for introduction of new programs in each institution of higher education.

c) First approximation of task analysis

Before any program for New Careers can be intelligently launched there must be a preliminary attempt at job description. These job descriptions must include the tasks that New Careerists would be expected to perform at each level and the knowledge that they would have to command to perform those tasks.

d) First approximation at curriculum

The identification of tasks requires the development of formalized training programs to produce the requisite proficiency for each level of task. Available manuals, texts, training films, course outlines, etc. must be appraised for appropriateness for each service.

e) Identifying leadership

The New Career idea depends, in the final analysis, upon human talent. A major failing in current New Career efforts is the scarcity of leadership. And while it is

unlikely that there are many persons knowledgeable about New Careers in a community, there do exist persons who possess skill in some of the critical dimensions of New Careers. This leadership potential must be sought out, recruited, organized into a team and developed to lead the New Career thrust.

The plan must not only identify the leaders of the program but also must specify the base of operations and the organizational form. Recognizing that New Careers requires multi-agency cooperation it is imperative that the organization formed has the "clout" to move all agencies which are involved; e.g., New Careers development could be established as a division of the local government executive power or could be subsumed under civil service.

f) Projecting manpower needs

A plan must include a calculation of how many persons each service agency can be expected to absorb at each career landing in the next decade. Unlike traditional manpower projections in which agency needs determine manpower, New Career programs are influenced by available manpower.

In human service there is no simple cost accounting scheme to determine manpower need. If carefully planned, a school system with one person in a teaching role for every eight children can be more effective in educating youth than a system with teacher-pupil ratio of 1:25.

Thus, to a large extent, available manpower determines the jobs needed. The plan thus must include estimates of persons who will be employable for the foreseeable future.

A New Career plan must go beyond general manpower projections. The plan must pinpoint the projections to agency and to level of function. Thus there must be an a priori determination of agency priority, i.e., an assessment of which gets first call, education or welfare. Each agency's need must be analyzed in the light of relative importance. For instance, an adequate development of manpower in education may markedly reduce the need for police personnel. The plan must consider how improved service will alter manpower considerations.

g) Establishing a timetable

A timetable for full scale New Career implementation would vary greatly, depending upon a community's readiness to assume all that "New Careers" demands. The plan should indicate expected progress for each year of the next decade.

h) Explicating the model or models

"New Careers" will, for the foreseeable future, encompass a number of different approaches to manpower development and utilization. At least three models of non-professional's utilization are currently in vogue. These are:

- (1) The plantation model in which the non-professional is paid low wages, has no security or opportunities for upward advancement and is not offered training, (because if trained he might become uppity).
- (2) The medical model in which there are a number of satellite careers with security and opportunities for advancement but there is but one prestigious, truly high paid professional post, (M.D.) and the only path to this high status post requires matriculation of a traditional and highly restricted higher education program.
- (3) The New Careers model in which upward mobility is entirely open-ended and there exists parallel paths to every rung on the career ladder.

New Career plans must eliminate plantation programming. The medical model is probably unavoidable in the first years of a program but when employed, there must be explicit recognition of the expedience of the action and a design for ultimate substitution of a more equitable and open-ended system.

i) Putting a price tag on the program

The cost of a truly "model city" is, by current standards and appropriations, staggering. Only when the plans are carefully drawn will the enormity of the project be fully understood. In the final analysis, a public will be faced with "paying their money and taking their chances"; a halfway decent set of plans will describe precisely what a public can be expected to receive for different magnitudes of expenditures.

The development of cities fit for human habitation will be an extremely expensive proposition and the quicker there are calculations which precisely detail what can be expected for every level of investment, the quicker we will get about the business of doing what needs to be done.

If the plan is carefully drawn with integrated services, economizing may be possible and the expense may be considerably less than has been estimated by some experts. Exclusive of physical rehabilitation of cities, an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars per year to monies currently allocated for human service would allow for the absorption of a quarter of a million more workers in urban human service agencies (based on total per capita cost of \$6,000 per year per employee). If growth is projected on a linear basis, in ten years city human service costs would have risen to \$15 billion for $2\frac{1}{2}$ million more staff than are currently utilized in such activities in the cities.

j) Raising the funds

There will be some who will argue that the cities must solve their own problems, and that local communities have the resources for a solution if only they had the resolve. This, "there gotta be blood in a turnip someplace," philosophy has political appeal both to the indigenous slum dweller (who would like nothing better than to be independent) and to the affluent suburbanite who wants relief from the tax burden which goes to support the city

poor. The mischief is that it will not work. The city is everybody's problem and the cost must be shared by all. Translated into the language of taxes, the costs of the human services of the city must, for at least the next few decades, come almost exclusively from federal income tax. There just isn't anywhere else such money can be obtained!

If the city begins to offer to residents that which has been outlined here, it is distinctly possible that the money which fled to the suburbs will be attracted back to the city and thus, in time, there would again be potential for at least a partial financial independence of a city.

One other factor needs to be emphasized and that is that refusal to pay the price of a "model city" will undoubtedly turn out to be an expensive proposition. Tax dollars go for national guardsmen to subdue insurrection, tax dollars are written off in property damage and tax dollars are required to bolster police forces and for new correctional institutions. The ultimate choice facing people is -- do they want taxes to be used for a government which represses people or do they want taxes to be used for a government which serves people?

k) "Perting" and other systems analysis jobs

At this point the plan is sufficiently defined for the systems analysis. The final plan should be so rendered that it lends itself to flow charts and charts of tables of organization. It is important, however, that there not be premature involvement of the "systems" people lest

there be an "illusion of a plan!" In the absence of a detailed plan, "systems" people impose what they know on every domain, ignoring the issue of relevancy. "City games" might share some commonality with "war games" or "profit games" but there are also important differences. These differences will become obscured if persons concerned with form but ignorant about content are involved too early in the process.

1) Developing an evaluation design

The plan must include appropriate evaluation. The emphasis must be on field study of process with the aim of the research to determine:

- (1) How close the interventions subscribed to that which was intended.
- (2) What was the nature of problems encountered.
- (3) How effective were the procedures employed to overcome problems.
- (4) What attributes of trainee, staff personnel or agency activity impeded or assisted New Career development.

The design of New Careers must be sufficiently standardized to allow for comparisons between different cities and yet flexible enough to fit the unique problems of any specific program. Any skimping on research activities or sloppiness in execution of a research design will seriously impair the program.

It is imperative that a research team be assembled and that this unit be integrated into the New Career operations. This relationship would permit continual feedback

and interpretation of data for program personnel as well as amendments to the research design if such action proves necessary.

In formulating a research program there must be recognition of the scarcity of adequately trained persons to direct such activity. To deal with this deficiency, funds should be earmarked for workshops and institutes for contracts to a limited number of university centers (where competence has been demonstrated) for the development of this needed talent.

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